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6 *Sources*

The subject of this address is Urundi rural life and, broadly speaking, Urundi social structure. Thanks to the Jacques Cassel Foundation, which was established to enable the teaching or scientific staff of the University of Brussels to carry on research in the colonies, I have had the opportunity of staying eight months of the year 1935 in the tropical African

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● 122 country that I shall attempt to describe to you in a few words.

800 On the other hand, I gratefully acknowledge my debt towards some former students of Barundi customs (viz. J. M. M. van der Burgt, *French and Kirundi Dictionary*, 1903—Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*, 1916—and the author of an anonymous monograph inserted in the Belgian Government *Report on Ruanda-*

[p. 12 (c)]

THE KINGDOM OF RUANDA

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been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsa meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.¹

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

¹ Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950-1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Finoulet and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lager, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pages, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Deryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the inter-relatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

4 THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

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[15] informant. Sixteen Hutu and twenty Tutsi informants were interviewed. Two junior administrative officers, Messrs. E. Finoulst and G. De Clercq, who were taking a six-month course of training in anthropology, participated in the different stages of this inquiry, as did Mr. S. Naigisiki, who acted as assistant and interpreter.

The inquiry into the cosmological and ethical systems was carried out on similar lines. A schedule of thirty-five headings, under each of which several points were listed, was used in several collective and individual interviews.

114 This research from 1949 to 1951 forms the main basis for my *Système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, published in 1954. But I have spent two other research periods in Ruanda (December 1952-December 1955 and September 1956-September 1957) on more specific topics. What was observed in these later periods, however, bearing on the topic of the earlier study, has been taken into account in the present volume.

127 Secondarily, the present study of Ruanda is based on literary sources published both before and after 1954. These are fully listed in the Bibliography.

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122 All my field work in Ruanda was sponsored by the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.) for which I am deeply grateful. At the same time I assumed the
114 functions of Head of the Scientific Research Centre of I.R.S.A.C. in Astrida. I wish to extend my thanks particularly to Professor
000 L. van den Berghe, Director of I.R.S.A.C. The late Professor F. Olbrechts, when he was Chairman of the *Commission des Sciences de l'Homme* of I.R.S.A.C., also greatly encouraged my research.

For guidance in planning the research project on Ruanda and for supervision of all its later stages, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Daryll Forde.

I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Pym, of the International African Institute, London, who very kindly corrected the first typescript, and Dr. R. J. Apthorpe, of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, for his patient and invaluable help in preparing this edition of my book.

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WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".¹ In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.² The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs. [193 556 565 776]

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as [613] 562

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privileges of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical. [122 114]